1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

605 visits at the house of Eliu, and Moingi, Eliu's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Eliu nor Lotea visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *male atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *male*
695 *atua* are involved in a case. Neither *male atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *male atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense tapu that exists between *male atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in
588 each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:
753

Sometimes in spite of the tapu *male atua* become so shameless as to consummate an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *male atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *male atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokala who married his *male atua*, Weston, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *male atua*, whom he married in an access of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old tapu were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

[171]

602 The attraction of *male atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
539 exhorts (*hupa*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a
835 consummated affection of one *male atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations for the *male atua* tapu, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hupa*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Manalili koe, ko Tuke au	You are Manalili (the Pleiades), I am Tuke (Orion)
Te mano ma koe pukou	(We two) like two hawkies together (as do three stars)
Wuli mai, e aku male atua	Turn to me, oh my *male atua*
E, tiaukiua e koutou ake	(as you turned, you saw the tapu place
Te vakaveve aku manako;	(for which) my heart has longed;
Tuku mai pukou ga ki pamo e te ramaka ia.	(When I am free) my noble friends like the kapakapa (shrimp) of the flight whale.

The second chant runs:

Ki vakaiaoaoi aki ai au,	I had fixed my desire, (on my male atua),
Ka vaka mapu i te manako,	The heart's open (herself to me) and made fast my desire,
Vakaugaiua mata ai au	[and in my heart (with shame),
Ka wiwia i aku kai kaumaga,	I go to my shameful food,
Ka, aku kai vakaiaoa kia koe;	With my heart for you;
E kai au tuku vaka manako,	Unavoidable is the desire of my heart,
Ka tuuli au ke mai au,	(I am) dragged back (by it) as where you sit,
Vaka ali au ke te vaivaia,	I return mate (this place) by the male atua,
Wuli mai koe ke vakinoi,	You turn to me that we may talk,
Wiwaki aku mata: vakinoi au ke mate?	I like our secret understandings: we shall have intercourse, shan't we?

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 case that his love for his *wale atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai uselenga* (incest).

No reference to *wale atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *wale atua* have married:

588 In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
177 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *wale atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very least that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te nukutitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te nukuliktinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*manea*) in both the male and female (*manea* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *manea*, the female
753 secretion enters the male *manea*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location
833 of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *manea* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *manea* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *manea* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-